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large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *e*; palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
sh English *sh*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (SSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] *Arutam* may also be pronounced *arutam*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of *arutam* souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen *arutam* and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[7] One exception is the fireball *arutam* which only manifests itself when touched.

[8] Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[9] There is also a rare super *arutam*, *awasag*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[10] The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own but is only a temporary sojourner, only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversation between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

[12] *Muisak* may be alternatively pronounced *maisko*.

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *muisak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsentsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house *asentos* along with their gardens.

194 121 128 [122] 127 [194] [183] [184] [196] [187] [178] [126] [226] [191] [182] [194] [195] [224] [114] [225] [241]

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124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they [465] spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gun- [436] powder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, [797] and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households 123 it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder 124 invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro [411] men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. [628] Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

124 My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed infor- [191] mation was through interpreters. However, unlike my pred- [795] ecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, [122] reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

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definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[9] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huará* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jivaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jivaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jivaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huará* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt inter-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jivaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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